CONSECUTIVE CLAUSES IN OLD FRENCH

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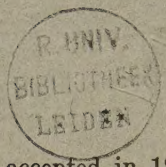
A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1934

Reprinted from the *Revue des Études Indo-européennes*, Vol. II, 1939, fasc. 2-4, pp. 30-69.



The original thesis, accepted in 1934, bore as a title, "Result Clauses in Old French" and was divided into the following chapters:

Chap. I. The relationship which the result clause bears to the principal clause

Chap. II. Correlatives which introduce the result clause (*si*; *tant*; *tel*; *assez* and *trop*)

Chap. III. The construction of result sentences

- A. The development of compound conjunctions
- B. The omission of *que*
- C. The subjunctive in result clauses
- D. The infinitive in result clauses

Chap. IV. The use of result clauses to replace other constructions

- A. Temporal clauses
- B. Concessive clauses
- C. Purpose clauses
- D. Modal clauses

This article represents a summary and a re-interpretation of the problem of Chapter I.

CONSECUTIVE CLAUSES IN OLD FRENCH

A CONTRIBUTION TO MEDIEVAL SYNTAX AND PSYCHOLOGY [1]).

BY

ANNA G. HATCHER

Among the different types of grammatical constructions, involving the relationship between principal and subordinate clauses, the consecutive construction is perhaps the only one that has not been made the subject of individual research, though of course there are brief treatments to be found in every general history of French syntax. Undoubtedly the most authoritative of such historical works is that of Eugen Lerch, *Historische französische Syntax*, Leipzig, 1925-1934, 3 vols. and so it is only fitting that any study of this construction should involve a consideration of his discussion.

The greater part of Mr. Lerch's chapter (*Konsekutivsätze und konsekutive Konjunktionen*, Vol. II, ch. ix) consists of a study of the conjunctions which were used in the course of the language to introduce consecutive clauses: *que* (with and without preceding correlative), *si que, si bien que, de sorte que, de manière que, de façon que, de mode que, tellement que, au point que, assez que, trop que.* In his treatment of these conjunctions he is primarily interested in such matters as the date of first appearance, length of life, frequency of

[1]) If this sub-title is justified to some extent in the following treatment, it will be due to the inspiration and encouragement that I have received from Professor Leo Spitzer; I take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation of his kindnesses.

use, etc. — matters which offer little occasion for controversy. To a certain extent, then, his is a study of the different variations of the construction (only to a certain extent, for he does not attempt an analysis of the separate correlatives), rather than a study of the different functions of the construction.

Unfortunately, nowhere in this chapter is there a definition of the *Konsekutivsatz*. His opening sentence, *Der Konsekutivsatz gibt an, dass das Geschehen B die Folge (das Ergebnis, die Wirkung) des Geschehens A sei* (e. g. *Sie schlagen auf die Helme, sodass Funken sprühen*) should not be interpreted as a definition; obviously he does not mean — as this would have to mean if it were offered as a definition — that any clause which expresses a result can be called a *Konsekutivsatz,* for he calls attention to the function of *Konklusivsätze (sie schlagen auf die Helme; daher sprühen Funken)* which also is that of expressing result. His statement, rather, should be taken as a description of what the consecutive construction does; and according to this we are to understand that the primary function of this construction is to state that *Geschehen B* is the result of *Geschehen A.*

Unfortunately again, there is no definition of the consecutive construction. This term may be used to apply only to sentences which contain a correlative (either separate or in combination with *que*), or, it may be used to designate all uses of the so-called «consecutive *que*» with or without correlative. As was noted above, this simple *que* is included by Mr. Lerch among his consecutive conjunctions — and yet I am sure that he does not mean to state that the primary function of *que* without correlative is that of expressing result; this assignation of the result function should probably be applied only to the construction with correlative.

It is true that there are a few of his examples of *si que* which, he admits, express, not result but Attendant Circumstance (*revenir le fist... Si ke David mot ne sout,* II *Rois,* 14, 28). However, one gets the impression that such examples constitute only infrequent exceptions to the rule that the con-

secutive construction generally does express result; one is lead to believe that Attendant Circumstance is the only non-result relationship expressed by this construction and that, when expressed by this construction, it is limited to clauses introduced by *si que* — i. e., it does not permeate the construction as a whole.

And if all these limitations be true, then surely the existence of a few *Si ke David mot ne sout* would not seriously weaken the validity of such a general statement as «The consecutive construction (usually) represents the relation of result». The fact, for example, that it sometimes happens that a «preacher» does not preach, does not prevent us from accepting as generally true the statement «preachers preach». And a sociologist interested in studying the clerical profession as a class, who disregarded, or considered as exceptions, the infrequent examples of ordained clergymen who sold insurance or taught school, would be justified on the grounds that they were not performing the function inherent to their class.

But the same justification would not be true of a sociological survey of American students, which expressed, or implied, the following state of affairs: »The American student puts intellectual pursuits above all other interests. It is true that occasionally one will find so-called »students« who do not study, but these are only exceptions; moreover, the non-studying tendency appears only among those who play golf — and those who play golf are to be found only in the eleventh grade.« For we know that most »students« are not real students, and that the non-studying tendency is manifested not in one but in many modes of behavior, and is not limited to one grade, but permeates the whole system.

And rather similar to the relation between the class »students« and the function »study« is the relationship between the class »consecutive« and the function »result« : most consecutive clauses did not express result in OF (only about one time in three is result expressed by this construction), for this expression was only incidental to the construction: moreover, the non-result tendency shows itsel in many other ways than

in the expression of the relation of Attendant Circumstance— an Attendant Circumstance is not limited to clauses introduced by *si que* but permeates the construction-as-a-whole, as can be seen from the following:

> Celui ameine *en tel maniere*
> *que* de nului ne fu seüz,
> desturbez ne aparceüz. *Milun*, 202-04

> Si mes sires tot a delivre
> *An tel guise* d'ici n'estort
> *Qu'*il ne soit mehaigniez a mort *Erec*, 3752-54

> ...et aloit tote jor par mi la forest *si faitement*
> que onques n'oï noveles de li...
> *A+N*, XXXIV, 8-9

> Consentes, sire, ke chele grande riviere...
> Puisse ma gent paser *en tel maniere*
> *Ke* au passer lor soies conduisiere! *Anseis*, 9530-33

> ...duel au cuer, orent
> De ce que *telement* s'en va
> Ne ne sevent quant revenra. *Cleom.*, 4464-65

> Car ne vus serreit mie a gas
> D'*issi* nestre e tost murir
> *Ke* plus nen pussez vus joir
> De cest secle... *Plet*, 562-65

Such sentences as the above are not extremely frequent, appearing mostly in the latter part of the period, but they show clearly that the construction-as-a-whole was able to express this relation.

And, as has been said, this relation is only one of many which the dependent clause of this construction can express — only one out of the many ways by which it modifies the main clause. For that is what the primary function of the consecutive construction is in OF — to modify, to define the

main *handlung*. Its function can be best compared to that of adverbs and adjectives; an adverb may express attendant circumstance („clandestinely"), and it may also express result („fatally"), but neither of these expressions is the special function of adverbs. It is impossible to give a very specific description of the function of adverbs — what one definition, for example, could cover the relations expressed by the following: „fatally", „clandestinely", „unfortunately", „separately", „irrevocably", „homeward", „finally", „enviously"?

And it is equally difficult to give a neat definition of the consecutive clause — all one can say is that it serves to *modify* — to further determine, describe, develop, interpret the main clause (a variation upon the main theme, as it were). And this modification may refer to manner, intensity, attendant circumstance, identification, quantity, extent or terminus, duration, comparison, potentiality — or RESULT.

Let us examine some examples of this construction which is supposed to be fundamentally concerned with the expression of result. Below are clauses of the first type just mentionned — clauses which tell the manner in which an action is performed, or the „manner" of an object:

Aimas ço est piere ital,
K'el est clere cume cristal... Ma *Marb.*, 495

...la lice... estoit teix que il y avoit lons merriens, pour ce que li Sarrazin ne se ferissent par mi l'ost... *Joinv.*, 263

Par surfeit e par grant desrei
Fist fere une chançon del rei,
Si que la chançon fud vilaine... *Amb.*, 10655-57

Arrée furent telement
K'en l'arroi ne failli noient *Cleom.*, 8131-32

...Il et je l'otrions,
En tel maniere que de cuer le voulons...
Ogier, 4779-80

Et trestuit li oisel chantoient
Si que mout bien s'antracordoient. *Yvains* 465-66

Cilz se coucha et si se just
C'onque la nuit ne se remust... *Fab.* I, XXIX, 129

... il mori en tal manière,
Que sa mort fu horrible et fiére... *Thebes*, 4831-32

Li cuens i monte si que estrier n'i baille *Orange*, I, 412

Such a sentence as the last on the right, in which the dependent clause gives a descriptive detail of the main action is very similar to such a one as *Tot soef ist dou grant palais plenier, Si ke n'i meine siergant ne escuier* (*Alex.*, XIII, 1068-69) — and yet this last should (perhaps) ne considered as containing a reference to attendant circumstance, rather than to manner. It needs only to introduce a second subject, in order to have a clause which unquestionably refers to attendant circumstance: *A mienuit s'enfuit de la cité, Si que ses pére et sa mére ne l'set* (*Alex.*. XII, 320-21). It is hardly necessary to give more examples of this relationship.

Of the same general nature as clauses of manner are those which serve to modify the main clause in intensity — to determine the degree of a certain quality of a term in the main clause:

Mais les plusors sont si fumees
Que totes sont descolorees... *Thebes*, 4685-86

Mais tant estoit li chainses viez
Que as cotes estoit perciez. *Erec*, 407-08

... et il meismes rest si ensanglentes k'il
n'apert sour lui se sans non, *Cesar*, 97

... li lieus là où nous deviens aler estoit
si perillous que il y avoit troi paire de
murs sés à passer... *Joinv.*, 572

... et ot si grant gent que ce ne fu si merveille non. *Ville.*, 246, 412

Mais tant i ert grans li effors
De leurs anemis là endroit
Que trois contre I en y avoit... *Cleom.*, 1004-06

Tant dreit l'esguaderat
Ja l'oil ne cillerat... *Best.*, 2019020

Et fiert le conte...
Si ruiste cop que ne l'espargne mie... *A+A*, 1548-49

... toursèrent tout sus leurs chars, en si grant haste que il uns n'attendoit point l'autre... *Froiss.*, II, 79

Illes i fiert tant de sa lance
Que ce n'est se merveille non... *Ille*, 1038-39

Issi veilla cele nuét tote
Que il onques n'i dormi gote... *Thebes*, 7525-26

Another extension of „manner" is seen in the following clauses which serve to identify a general term used in the main clause. These are of the types, „his will was such that he refused", or „he behaved so rudely that he slapped me".

telx fu sa volontés que il refusa *Ville.*, 24-39

Cléomades .I. veu voua
Tel, que jamais ne finera
De guerroier tous les V rois... *Cleom.*, 1385-87

Au duc Fagon Charlos tant en pria
Qu'il li otrie et avoec lui ira... *Ogier*, 1577-78

Et vous convient telement esploitier
Que vostre loy vous convient renoier... *ibid.*, 2136-37

En tel maniere el bois le fist
Riens ne trove qu'il n'oceïst *Ber.*, 1753-54

...tu avras tel guerredon
Que tu serras desiretez... *Thebes*, 1862-63

Halas! il l'atendirent si malvaisement, que onques
covent ne lor tindrent... *Ville.*, 103,58

Si felenessemant le sert,
Que l'ame fors del cors li oste... *Cliges*, 1782-83

Car si grant honur li fera
Que sur les autres la metra. *Thom.*, 747-48

...se ses fieus vous a par aucune sotie
Meffait tant qu'à vo fil il a tolut la vie... *Bast.*, 4075-76

Car li reis de France voleit,...
A sa persone tant mesfaire
Qu'il voleit del marchis rei faire... *Amb.*, 1711-14

Ne ferai tel recreantise
Que je tot mon pooir n'an face
Einçois que j'isse... *Erec*, 5654-56

La vit l'em Auberc de Rains,...
Si vilainement coarder
Qu'il iert entré en un barge
Por fuir... *Amb.*, 10876-80

In the next group of examples a term in the main clause is modified, not in quality but in quantity:

Si gaegna tant ke dedans .IIII.
ans il gaegna plus de .CCC. livres... *Flore*, 125, 15-16

Tant li promet et tant li done
Ke tous ses sis li gueredone. *Fab.*, II, xlix, 482-83

Païens... je voi de ta gent tant,
Plus de mil sont par le mien ensiant... *BdeH.* 8528-29

Li dux Fagons aussi avoec ala
E tant des autres que .x. mile en y a *Ogier,* 1563-64

Tant an ociënt et estaingnent,
Que ne cuit pas, que plus de set
An soient venu a recet. *Cliges,* 1952-54

Tant i ot d'eus navrez a mort
Nus nel sot dire ne esmer. *Troie,* 7366-67

This same quantitative tant may also be used to measure verbs : either to refer to the extent of the action by naming the stage reached :

Tant ont esre chascun jor ajorné,
Que en douz mois vinrent en lor regné...
JdeB, 4165-66

...si acoilli son cemin... tout un viés sentier
anti, tant qu'a une voie vint...
A+N, XIX, 3-6

Tant chevalcherent qu'en Sarraguce sunt.
Rol. 2689

Mais tant parlerent e tant distrent
Que Jaffe a rafermer enpristrent. *Amb.,* 7029-30

Itant unt parlé nequedent
Conseil unt pris al parlement. *Thom.,* 2781-82

Jehanz i va, si l'a tant quise
Qu'il l'a trove... *Cliges,* 9285-86

or by naming the (actual or relative) duration of the action :

Car il s'en vont par haute mer salee
A plainne voile chascuns jor a jornee,
Tant que bien fu la quinzaine passee. *JdeB,* 3145-47

Tant chacierent qu'il fu midis *Eneas*, 1506

Ele s'estraint en son mantel en l'onbre del pilier, tant que cil furent passé outre ... *A+N*, XVI, 56

Li quens s'areste sos un arbre ramé
Por son ceval, tant q'il ait estalé. *Alisc.*, 1499-1500

In the last examples, the main action has been measured by reference to the duration of another action contemporaneous with it. In the clauses below, likewise, an object or action is described by a reference to its relationship to another object or action, in the sentences below, by directly comparing it to another :

Bouche et visage et iex et nés
Ot tels que miex sambloit maufés
Qu'il ne faisoit hom terriens. *Cleom.*, 1921-23

Romain ne perdent pas tant chi
Que vos ne perdés .c. tant plus ... *Ille*, 5912

Iceste mort par est tant fiére
Que tote autre est vers lé legiére. *Thebes*, 4971-72

Eth vos l'ost Deu tote pensivé,
E si troblee e si baive
C'onques de la mort un sol home
Poisque Adam morst en la pome
Ne fud oie si grant plainte ... *Amb.*, 6669-73

N'espreviers ne vient a reclaim
Si volantiers, quant il a faim
Que plus volantiers ne venissent ... *Erec*, 2083-85

Mes n'an pot pas tel sanblant feire
Qu'ancor ne fust la joie meire. *ibid.*, 6639-40

Or again, the relationship may be that between an object

(a quality, a fact) and another situation, as in the clauses of potentiality, tendency, below:

Apres vest un hauberc tant chier
Qu'an n'an pooit maille tranchier *Erec*, 2639-40

Li chevals fu si boins et de si grant fierté
Que d'une toise longe n'i puet on abiter...
Aiol, 9212-13

Tant avons fait pour vous nus nel porroit descrire.
Berte, 391

D'arz saveit tant e de conjure
De cler jor feïst nuit oscure... *Troie*, 1223-24

Et s'a les bras andeus si fors,
Qu'il leueroit derriere amont
Bien une carette de plonc... *Rich.*, 1382-84

After considering all these examples, surely it is apparent that the function of the consecutive construction as a whole is to present in the main clause a general statement, which the dependent clause re-touches — adding perhaps, a descriptive detail (*Li cuens i monte si que estrier ne baille*); painting in the edges of the picture by describing the circumstances under which it takes place (*Revenir le fist... Si ke David mout ne sout*); defining the degree of a quality (*... si fumees Que totes sont descolorees*); redefining a term from the abstract to the concrete (*tu avras tel guerredon Que tu serras deseritez*); precising the quantity at which the main clause has only hinted (*Tant li promet et tant li done Ke tous ses sis li gueredone*); marking the boundaries of the main action by showing the exact point reached (*... tant distrent Que Jaffe a rafermer enpristrent*) or the time involved (*... s'areste ... Por son ceval, tant q'il ait estalé*); describing a term by comparing it to another (*... tant fiére Que tote autre est vers lé legiére*), or by stating what is (im)possible in relationship to it (*Tant avons fait pour vous nus nel porroit descrire*). And to all these different possibilities of modification, how easy it

is to add one more — that by which an action is described in terms of its effectiveness (*Tant fiert la viele, ke tous les rens remue ... Ans.*, 6757). Here, at last, we have a consecutive clause that expresses result, but it is not essentially different from all the clauses above; like them it serves to „say something new" about the main action — to present it under another light.

But not only does a consideration of sentences such as these above tend to show that the expression of result must be only incidental to the consecutive construction; this opinion is further reinforced by a study of clauses which *do* express result.

In the first place the cause-result idea which is expressed is apt to be of a very limited sort. In the majority of cases the subject of both clauses is the same, so that we do not have *Geschehen A* and *Geschehen B* (to which Lerch refers), but only Geschehen A redefined in the second clause (*in tant fiert la viele, ke tous les rens remue* the subject did not (A) hit and then (B) shake). But even if this sentence were changed so that the subject of the consecutive clause would be different from that of the main clause (*tant fiert, ke tuit li rens remuent*), nothing is really changed because of the narrowness of the cause-result relation: the difference between the „two" actions is only infinitesimal, perhaps only theoretical — the second action is a reverberation of the first. Compare *tant fiert ...* with such a statement as „she sang so well, that I went up afterwards to congratulate her" — in which the second clause represents a result completely separate from the main action. But such a sentence, with the result relationship so far developed, I have not been able to find in OF.[1])

[1]) Such a statement includes three steps; her singing; my delight; my congratulations. It was evidently impossible for the OF writers to compress so much into one statement; we find only the types „she played so well that I was delighted" (*Tant m'avez fet que je vous aime Cliges*, 5419) and „she delighted me so that I went up to congratulate her" (*Por sa biauté l'a si fort enamet Qu'il la requiert chascun jor a jornee JdeB*, 3350-51).

Secondly one is so often impressed by the irrelevance of result-function to the impression intended by the author. Consider for example the seven clauses below from the *Chanson de Roland* which would permit of several (functional) interpretations:

Si grant doel out que mais ne pout ester:	2219
Si grant doel ai ne puis muer nel pleigne.	834
Si grant doel ad que par mi quiet fendre	1588
Si grant doel a sempres quiad murir...	3506
Si grant doel ai que jo ne vuldrei estre!	2929 (2936)
Si grant doel ad por poi qu'il n'est desvet	2789

Does the first represent a result or only a potentiality? True, the verb *pouvoir* is used, but the „incapacity" referred to is more than a characteristic, a tendency (as, for example, „he is so weak he can't take exercise") — the content shows that the subject is actively experiencing his incapacity: he tries to keep on his feet, but fails and falls (... *a tere chet pasmet*, 2220). Consequently, this would seem to represent result; this may likewise be the interpretation of the second sentence. Sentences 3 and 4 are much more complicated: in (3) does the clause refer to a physical *result?* The subject has not split yet — is not the splitting tendency referred to merely to describe the nature, the variety, of te pain? Or, perhaps, this should be taken as representing a *psychic* result: as a result of his anguish the subject has been lead to believe *(quiet)* that he is going to split. On the same grounds, the label „psychic result" might apply to the 4th sentence and to the two following with *vouloir*. Finally, in the last, does *desvet* represent the result of anguish, or is it only one of the stages of anguish? It is not true that anguish is in itself a distraction from being completely in one's right mind — it does not produce distraction, it *is* distraction.

But of what use is all this hair-splitting — except to illustrate the futility of attempting precision of classification — a classification which serves not a whit to clarify the main purpose of al these statements. A division according to result

— non-result would destroy the real unity underlying these sentences — which is that of description of anguished behaviour; whether this description happens to involve reference to result is a detail quite secondary to the main purpose.

With some of the sentences above, one could quibble endlessly as to whether or not result is expressed. But even when it seems unquestionable that result is expressed, still, we cannot jump too quickly to the conclusion that this is what the author intended to express. For example the sentence *Lors veimes le vent remaindre Si que li reis volt retorner, Amb.* 1202-03 refers to two actions which undoubtedly have a causal relationship to each other; this is the equivalent of „she sang well, *so that* I went up to congratulate her." But I am not at all sure that Ambroise meant to state this causal connection — that he meant to do anything more than say: „there came a calm, *and* the king decided to go back." For, later on, the same author says: *Car bien quatre cent Turs veneient, Chanes et arcs turqueis teneient, Si qu'entre lui et l'ost se mistrent, ibid.*, 7501-03. This of course could not be interpreted as expressing result; the only translation of *si que* would be „and, and then, and so". And I see no reason why we should not assume that *si que* was used in both cases for the same purpose — to tell what happened next. [1]) One

[1]) It is true that such sentences do represent an extension of the use of *si que*, which in the beginning could be used only to refer to an action immediately connected with the main action (*Monte, si que estrier ne baille* or *Tote sa force i abandone Si que mout loing an va l'oïe, Erec*, 6160-61). Toward the end of the 12 th century we find consecutive clauses expressing an elementary sort of volitional result, as *Garda si le port e la veie. Que tut le port en eschivoient* (i. e. the enemy), and for such a relationship *si que* could also be used (as in *Lors veimes le vent remaindre* ...). That meant that *si que* was then able to introduce a result more clearly separate from the main action, with a lapse of time intervening — and the writers of the time took advantage of this to use it to refer to *anything* that followed in time!

This of course is understandable: the connotation of result had been far from inevitable when *si que* was used to refer to contemporaneous action — now that it is possible for it to introduce a result *following in time* there was no reason that it should be suddenly limited to a *result* following in time. It was much more useful to OF authors without this limitation: their main purpose was to tell a story, their material *was* „what happened next," and they did not set themselves up as judges to discriminate between the logically valid and non-valid among the events they sang.

finds such „irrelevancies“ all through OF (*Durement se penoit d'Abilant approchier, Si qu'a demi liewe les .j. desrubant fier, Li sali .j. lion ... BdeS,* V, 898-900) — and it would probably have been difficult to convince the persons concerned that they were irrelevancies — they happened!

Instead, then, of the consecutive construction representing a procession of solemn *ergo's*, with here and there an impertinent non-sequitur of a *Si ke David mot ne sout* spoiling the regular sequence of cause-result — instead of that, we find a motley crowd mingling on the best of terms (a half-dozen varieties sometimes meet on the same page), adding colour and suspense, precision and pattern, to the stories of men who seldom seemed to bother their heads about the relation of cause and result. And, is it really true, as Lerch says in his opening paragraph that in German *Sie schlagen auf die Helme, so dass Funken sprühen* means the same as *Sie schlagen auf die Helme: daher sprühen Funken?* For, in OF, there's not a single „therefore“ to be found in all the descriptions of knightly encounters, where phrases are flung pell-mell with the dizzy rapidity of blows themselves.

* * *

Above have been listed sentences illustrating the various ways by which the consecutive clause could be used to further determine, to re-interpret, the main *handlung*. One of these means (description in terms of effectiveness) developed to such an extent, in the course of the language, that today the function of result is generally thought of as inherent to the consecutive construction; but at the beginning it represented only one out of many „variations of modification.“

What has happened to the other varieties of modification? It must have been apparent, in a consideration of the sentences above, that many of them represent a procedure foreign to the modern speech; we would not say today *Tant li promet et tant li done Ke tous ses sis li gueredone* or *Romain ne perdent pas tant chi Que vos ne perdés .c. tans plus* — why did they? Moreover the frequency of these non-result clauses is a significant factor; even though many of the sentences

above, taken singly, might *not* seem to represent anything particularly startling, yet the situation might well be that for one sentence of a given type that would be found in the modern language, dozens could be found in OF. The frequency of such sentences has only been hinted at in the statement that non-result clauses outweighed clauses of result two to one; we have also the fact to consider that the construction as a whole was used perhaps ten times as much in OF as in the modern language. For example, in a short novel of about 200 pages, the chances are that we would find 20 to 25 consecutive clauses, of which perhaps 5 might be non-result; in *Erec* (6958 lines) there are over 200 consecutive clauses, of which almost 150 are non-result!

It is the clauses of non-result, then, the purely determining clauses, which offer the greatest contrast to modern usage. So far we have divided these according to the „variety of modification" they represent; let us now try to see what ideas they expresses, what tendencies, psychological and stylistic they reveal. The whole group divides rather nicely into two main divisions: clauses that refer to the extent of an action (*tant . . . que*) — and all the rest, often with no discrimination between them (clauses referring to manner, intensity, attendant circumstance, identification, quantity — and which may also involve comparison, potentiality). Let us begin with clauses of extent.

Before discussing such sentences as

Tant chevalcherent qu'en Sarraguce sunt *Rol.* 2689

Mais tant parlerent e tant distrent
Que Jaffe a rafermer enpristrent. *Amb.*, 7029-30

Jehanz i va, si l'a tant quise
Ou'il l'a trove . . . *Cliges*, 8285-86

let us first examine the nature of the adverb *tant*. This correlative always refers to extent or quantity — just as it still does today in its function of limiting nouns (*tant d'argent*).

In OF it could also be used to limit adjectives (*tant bels*) and verbs; in all three cases its meaning is a quantitative one, „so much". When used to limit adjectives or abstract terms (i. e., nouns or verbs with a qualitative connotation — „*tant mesfaire*", „*tant d'honur*"), *tant*, by determining the „quantity" of the quality achieves an implication of intensity („to do so much mischief" = „to do such great mischief"), and in such cases, but in such *alone*, can it be considered as the equivalent of *si*, *si grant*; it acquires a connotation of intensity from the accident of being associated with a qualitative term. But when there is no reference to a quality in the term modified, there will be no reference to intensity in the clause introduced by *tant*; when *tant* modifies a concrete noun it limits the amount, when it modifies a concrete verb, it limits the extent. This means, then, that all such verbs modified by *tant* must refer to a continuous action; this continuous action is determined by a reference to the point reached by the action — the consecutive clause introduces an event which is accepted as marking a new stage (usually the final stage) of the action or state of affairs mentioned in the main clause. *Tant* points to a new chapter that is about to begin.

This is easily seen in the three sentences above. „Arriving" can be accepted as the last stage of „travelling"; „coming to an agreement, a decision" and „coming upon" the object of one's search, the last stages of parleying, searching. The statement *tant chevalcherent*, for example, in referring to the arrival at Sarragossa tells us how much travelling was done, and tells it in the most pertinent way. For we are not interested in how many miles were covered, how many hours elapsed; the important point is that the action reached its final, successful stage. The meaning of the sentence is „after a due amount of travelling, in due course, they arrived at Sarragossa".

These three sequences, *chevalcher - arriver; parler - conseil prendre; quisier-trover* represent, as it were, an ideal pattern for continuous action. The second act represents a natural outcome from the successful performance of the first; it is

no accident, no irrelevant incident, but an event toward which all things were leading, an event that is a manifestation that things are working out as they should, an event that has its place in the scheme of things. Of course, only when *chevalcher* is performed successfully, will the event „arriver" develop therefrom — only when the particular *chevalcher* in question imitates the ideal action *chevalcher*. And it is interesting to see that this construction, *tant chevalcher - arriver* sets the ideal as the normal standard; according to this construction, arriving is already implicit in travelling — it is simply the last stage. There surely must have been a calm confidence behind such an expression that considers arrival as a part of travelling, finding as a part of searching.

But though such a construction may imply a faith, an optimism that events follow an ideal pattern, this must not be understood as inplying a faith in man's ability to force, to achieve by himself, this ideal issue. No, it is out of his hands; and this is substantiated, not only by evidences which we have of the nonhumanistic attitude of the middle ages toward the universe — it is also substantiated by a syntactical fact: *tant*, the correlative of measure, *not* of intensity is the correlative used to introduce these successful conclusions. We are not apt to find *si fort chevalcher* or *si bien, de tel vertut...* which would throw into relief the efforts of the traveller, his personal initiative or prowess.[1]) He is presented rather as following a pattern the bounds of which are already set; he can but hope that his travelling is of the ideal sort, leading him to his destination — as was true of those who... *Tant ont singlé, dieus les fist ariver En lor païs... BdeH*, 10478-79.

But how can this theory of „stages" explain such irrelevancies as *Tant vont nagant par mer... Qu'il ont en mi la mer grant navire coisie, BdeS, I,* 366-67; or *L'emperere de France i out tant demouret De sa moillier li membret, Pel.*, 233-34. Meeting with another ship is only an accidental stage

[1]) Occasionally *tant* is combined with an expression of intensity as in *Tant alerent siglant et tant bien esplieterent Qu'en Normandie vinrent... Rou*, 4171-72. Such examples, however, are comparatively infrequent, appearing mostly in the latter part of the period.

of sailing; and, with the second sentences, we would hardly say that remembering one's wife could be accepted as representing one of the stages of dwelling in Jerusalem.

And yet, if the OF writers used the same construction to represent the sequence *demorer - membrer* that they used for *chevalcher - arriver* it can only be because they considered the two sequences as, primarily, of the same sort. If *arriver* is a flowering, a development out of *chevalcher*, an event sent as a rounding-out of *chevalcher*, so, too, *membrer* must have been accepted as representing a development according to pattern, a pattern not as obvious to grasp as *chevalcher - arriver*, but a pattern made manifest by the event itself. If *membrer* happened in the midst of *demorer* then indeed it dit mark a new stage of *demorer;* they did not contest the validity of the event, and they stretched their grammatical constructions to receive it.

If this were not so, if they did not truly feel that there must have been a connection between the two, why would they bother to mention *demorer*. Why not say — „lors un matinet de sa moillier li prist a membrer"; *demorer* gives us no real information: we knew the emperor was dwelling there. But instead, they choose to present *membrer* as having its roots in what lead up to it. And this was a general tendency; there are hundreds of similar sentences in OF which show the same desire to connect the event with the situation existent at the moment of the event; if a person who is out walking meets another „par aventure", this is connected with his walking — „s'en aler tant":

> S'en aloit Keus tot un valet
> Tant que par avanture avint,
> Qu'Erec a l'ancontre li vint. *Erec,* 3968-70

if he has stopped walking for a while, it is connected with his stay — „tant i fui":

> Tant i fui que j'oi venir
> Chevaliers... *Yvains,* 478-79

For the „aventure“ cannot be irrelevant; by the validity of its happening it becomes relevant, illuminating the pattern.

And by the same grading process by which the „accidental“ the „irrelevant“ is elevated into the pattern, so the contrived, the purposeful, may be devitalized, formalized into the pattern. For example, consider the sequences introduced by the expressions so common in OF which, at first glance, would seem unquestionably intended to express result: *tant li dist, tant li fist, tant li pria, .. qu'el s'en vint o lui.* To our way of thinking there is a world of difference between the sequences *tant demourer - membrer* and *tant prier - consentir* — and surely the difference was apparent to the medieval Frenchman as well. But the difference evidently did not seem as important to him as what they had in common: the new turn given the tituation by the arrival of an event. Not by a result which is a personal triumph for the subject: simply, a situation which might or might not have turned out a certain way, has at last entered the hoped-for stage. „He talked to her, asking her to come; he went as far as he could through the preliminary stages; he did his part in leading the action as far along as he could — and he arrived at success — the event happened — she came with him“. That is the important thing.

Of course there can be a difference in the circumstances of such a situation; in some cases consent or assent is given as a matter of course („I asked her to come, *and* she did“), whereas in others, it is the direct result of the influence exerted by the speaker („I begged her so earnestly that she agreed to come“). And so it is extremely interesting that in OF the difference between two such situations (which must have been as true then as today) was not considered important enough to be indicated by two different constructions. They did not use the simple *et* (that would have been to fail to recognize the pattern), and, what is even more startling, we rarely find any reference to the particular manner or intensity of the speaking; not „si bel prier, si ardemment“, etc. which would imply that the consent was due to the

speaker's eloquence, but the simple *tant* is found in such cases; tant = „so much, so far, this far". [1])

There is an ideal sequence *prier - consentir* („knock and it shall be opened unto you; ask and ye shall receive"). All the subject of *prier* can do is to go as far as he can and hope that this is indeed an imitation of the ideal *prier* which has *consentir* as a natural development. (It might be objected: if the use of such sequences as *demorer-membrer* indicates that the event is its own justification and is accepted within the pattern — then why do we not find such statements as „tant li pria qu'el refusa"? A refusal might have been predetermined as well as a consent; why could not such a turn of affairs be accepted within the construction? But such a statement would be a contradiction-in-terms; refusal, too, if it happens, would be valid, but it has no part in a sequence with *prier* — it would have to be part of another pattern. Irrelevancy is one thing, contradiction another.)

Obviously not all results that follow a continuous action must be interpreted simply as a subsequent event. Such a sentence as *Tant fu hurtez et avant et arrier Qu'il le couvint par force agenoiller*, *Ogier*, 6448-49, represents a result achieved directly by the force of the agent just as truly as when the action is momentaneous and the verb is modified by *si*, as *A un peron le fist si ahurter C'un oil li fist de la teste voler... BdeH.* 3854-55. But the action „tant hurter" is different from „tant prier": „hurter" can produce a variety of results depending upon the manner or intensity of the main action, but

[1]) Only in the latter part of the period, and then infrequently, have I been able to find a reference to the way in which the speaking is done, as in *je parlerai u ferai parler si sotillement à lui que li mariages iert fais*, *Flore*, 90, 11-12.
What is also interesting is the fact that they did not say „... that *I* persuaded her to come". I have found only one example of this recognition of the power of the speaker:
... et fist tant par ses prières qu'il fist asseoir Troïlus... *Troil.*, 277,9-10. In all other cases I have found only the construction represented by: Tant li preierent li meillor Sarrazin Qu'el faldestoed s'es Marsilies asis *Rol.*, 451-52.

with „tant prier" there is only one result in mind; only one eventuality is important — will she consent or won't she? will the action take the desired turn or not? Moreover in this case the outcome is unpredictible; one may plead with the eloquence of Demosthenes, but if his arguments do not appeal to the listener, he may be just as far — and even further — from reaching his goal as if he had applied no effort; the issue has hardly more direct relation to the intensity of the main action than in the case of „tant chevalcher": if the traveller has taken the wrong road, he will not arrive for all his efforts. With „tant hurter" always some result will be achieved, varying according to the intensity of the subject's efforts — but there is no one great result involved, no great Yes or No as to whether the action will enter into the final stage of an ideal pattern like that in which „consentir" is the end, „prier" the beginning.

Lerch, in his treatment of the „temporal conjunction" *tant... que* (II, 33) explains that the fundamental meaning is „(he did something) *so hard, so long, that* (something happened)". According to this, it would seem that he interprets, not only *tant li pria...* but also *tant chevalcherent* (this last is among his examples) as containing a reference to the efforts of the subject who achieves a triumph due to his purposeful endeavor. Insistence on our own interpretation of *tant li pria* can be waived, for at least it is true that this is not necessary in order to explain the construction. But the objection to his interpretation for *tant chevalcherent* is clear: any interpretation of *tant chevalcherent qu'en Sarraguce sunt* must be wide enough to take care of, for example, *Tant chevalcherent Guenes e Blancandrins Que l'un a l'altre la sue feit plevit*, *Rol.* 492-93 — and this his interpretation fails to do. Also, the rarity, already noted above, of correlatives of intensity in such cases would be against it — but it is obvious from his translation („*so sehr*") that he considers *tant* to be an adverb of intensity! *Tant* does not mean „so hard"; it means only „so much, so long" — often in the sense of *this* much, *this* long. It does not necessarily insist on *long* duration, or *great* ex-

tent: the subjects in his example, *Tant chevalcherent qu'en Sarraguce sunt* were already on the outskirts of Sarragossa when they started, and it took very little riding indeed to get them there — only the „due amount".

Now let us consider purely determining clauses of manner-intensity. The function of such clauses, roughly, is to tell *of what sort* the main action is. Such a function is much more general than was that of the sentences above with *tant...que,* and the variety of ideas that might be expressed thereby is practically limitless. And yet it is interesting to see how one idea prevails:

PERFECTLY
„not to be improved on"

...s'antremetent
De li en tel guise atorner
Qu'an n'i truisse rien qu'amander *Erec*, 1662-64

En fist grandement son deveir,
Si que il n'i ot k'amender... *Cleom.*, 18152-53

„nothing was lacking"

Ensi taillies, ensi curez,
Ensi assis, ensi posez,
Que plus ne meins n'i a mestier *Troie*, 135-37

E li fu sa nef atornee
Si que il n'i fallot rien nee... *Amb.*, 12261-62

Arrée furent telement
K'en l'arroi ne failli noient *Cleom.*, 8131-32

Et mon afaire m'apareille
Si bien, que, quant sui fins amis,
Riens ne me faut... *Jouf.*, 10-12

L'une i portrest geometrie,
Si come ele esgarde et mesure

Con li ciaus et la terre dure,
Si que de rien nule n'i faut... *Erec*, 6746-47

„nothing was spared"

Meniadus son devoir fist
A chascuns, si qu'il n'i mespris
De riens que il faire i deüst... *Cleom.*, 18363-65

Li dui baron si se requirérent
Onques de rien ne s'espargniérent *Thebes*, 767-68

Et fiert le conte...
Si ruiste cop que ne l'espargne mie...
A+A, 1548-49

Au derriien jornel se vangent
Si bien, que de rien ne se faingnent.
Cliges, 2034-35

„more could not have been done"

Et il le comant en faisoient
De cuer, si que plus ne povoient...
Cleom., 14245-46

Tel l'ot feite Deus que Nature
Mien esciant i fausist bien
S'ele i vosist comancier rien *Phil.*, 142-44

...car tant i mist
Nature, quant elle le fist,
Que, s'une autre uosist refaire
Et plus bielle uosist pourtraire,
Si s'en uosist bien entremettre, (jurerent)
N'i peusist plus de biaute mettre
Que il auoit en chesti mise. *Rich.*, 171-77

UTTERLY

„exclusively"

Et d'autres teches fu tele sa parçon
K'en lui n'en ot gaires si bonne non *Ogier*, 245-46

... et si estoit enteciés de bones teces, qu'en lui n'en avoit nule mauvaise se bone non *A+N*, II, 14-15

... et il meismes rest si ensanglentes k'il n'apert sour lui se sans non. *Cesar*, 97, 12-3

„totally"

Mais les plusors sont si fumees
Que totes sont descolorees. *Thebes*, 4685-86

... car si chargié estoient
Que tous les bras plains en avoient
De toutes pars et de tous lez. *Cléom.*, 978-80

Or ai mon cuer si en vos mis,
Et si m'a vostre amor espris,
Que del tot sui enclines a vos *Troie*, 4741-43

... et s'a tant de vertu
Que tout li bien sont en lui plainement contenu *BdeM*, 3238-39

„thoroughly"

Si la despeiret que n'i remest nient. *Alex.*, 28, b

... si en ocist des le vespre jusqu'al vespre del altre jur, si qu'uns piez n'en eschapad ... I *Rois*, xxx, 17

Je voeil que li fachiés tous ses dras despoellier,
Si qu'il ne li demeure né maille, né denier
BdeS, VIII, 183-4

„absolutely"

Issi veilla cele nuét tote
Que il onques n'i dormi gote *Thebes*, 7525-26

Tant dreit l'esguarderat
Ja l'oil ne cillerat... *Best.*, 2019-20

Et il perdi .j. bras et puis furent d'acort,
Si c'onques puis n'i ot ne tençon ne descort.
BdeM, 3507-08

E dulce voiz e bone avrá
Si ke ja mais n'en roera *Marb.*, 895-96

... il pierderont s'amor dou tout, en tele maniere
k'il ja mes ne le raront... *Cesar*, 124, 14-16

Quar a toz jors honiz sereie,
Si que ja mais honor n'avreie... *Troie*, 1395-96

La bataille à garder en bonne loiauté,
Si que ja n'i ara de nulle part faussé *Doon*, 6543-15

Li bon Danois si bien le conpaigna
Que il plain pié de lui ne s'esloigna... *Ogier*, 7151-52

SUPERLATIVELY

Iceste mort par est tant fiére
Que tote autre est vers lé legiére. *Thebes*, 4971-72

Quant cil fu fors, si vistement ala
Que nus chevals isi tost nen ala... *BdeH.* 5197-98

Eth vos l'ost Deu tote pensive,
E si troblee e si baive
C'onques de la mort un sol home
Poisque Adam morst en la pome
Ne fud oie si grant plainte... *Amb.*, 6669-73

Romain ne perdent pas tant chi
Que vos ne perdés .c. tans plus... *Ille*, 5912-13

Et de bien et d'onneur sera si dotrinée,
C'onques hons tant n'en eut qui fust de mére nes.
BdeM, 1292-93

INDESCRIBABLY (incredibly)

Tant prist chevaliers de sa main
Et tant fist seles vuidier,
Que nus ne le porroit cuidier
Si cil non, qui veu l'avoient *Erec*, 2256-59

Tant avons fait pour vous nus nel porroit descrire.
Berte, 391

Tant i ot d'eus navrez a mort
Nus nel sot dire ne esmer. *Troie*, 7366-67

Tel joie en ont, nel set nus dire... *ibid*, 1979

A l'asamblee i ot noise si grant
Nel saroit dire nus jouglere, ki cant. *Ans.*, 3456-57

MARVELOUSLY

Illes i fiert tant de sa lance
Que ce n'est se mervelle non... *Ille*, 1038-39

Car si bien jouer en savoit
Que c'est merveille à esgarder *Cleom.*, 7236-37

Tant en i muerent, n'est se merveille non. *Anseis*, 3616

...et fisent tant d'armes que merveilles estoit
à regarder... *Froiss.*, II, 53

All of the sentences above suggest, more or less directly the idea of perfection, excellence, thoroughness. In most cases no attempt whatsoever is made to give specific information, or a descriptive detail; we know of the ship (*E li fu sa nef atornee Si que il n'i fallot rien nee*) nothing but the fact that it was perfectly equipped. And even when a specific fact is mentionned (*Issi veilla cele nuet tote —que il onques n'i dormi gote*) it is such an obvious one that it offers nothing new to the picture, serving only to interpret the idea of completeness, perfection.

And such sentences as these represent perhaps more than half the appearances of purely determining clauses of manner-intensity; when an object (action) was described in OF, more often than not the description consisted of the statement that it was perfect, etc.! And this tendency prevailed, not only in situations of emotional content, where we could more easily imagine the scribe being carried away by his enthusiasm, but even with such unlyrical matters as smoked-up shields, or a person not being able to sleep at night. Such statements, in such frequency, betray, as it were, an obsession with the idea of perfection — as if nothing is so unless it is absolutely so; an attitude that will not admit of intermediate stages in which, for example, an object can be *both* smoked and not-smoked.

It seems as if, to these medieval writers,[1]) every individual object, every specific action, was only the reflection of an ideal object or action (and for ideal types no halfway measures exist). And so, when called upon to describe any single phenomenon, the most convincing procedure was to refer it to its ideal prototype. They were not interested in the individual variations away from the norm, in what makes every object or action just a little different from every other one — but in its conformity to the pattern. We would say today that their procedure makes it impossible to visualize the object of description, that it betrays lack of imagination. It may be, however, that it is we who lack imagination — we have lost the ability to visualize the ideal, and can only think in terms of idiosyncrasies. It evidently satisfied the eager curiosity of their readers to be told that the ship „... was furnished as boats could be furnished; it was worthy of being ac-

[1]) It must be kept in mind that any remarks about tendencies in the language can only refer to the language of writers -- of men whose job it was to create literature. These writers living in a world no more ideal then than it is today, created, for others living in the same world, another world in which the ideal was indeed the norm. They had no intention of reproducing the lamentable deficiences from the ideal which they saw all about them -- the things and the deeds which gave only a faint indication of the ideal prototype; instead they tried to give things back their true, their ideal proportions. -- But that such expressions represent the habitual language of medieval man can hardly be presumed.

cepted as meeting the requirements of the category to which it belongs." Perhaps they could see more in that boat than we can.

Even when the 2nd clause gives a specific detail which does not imply perfection nor yet follow inevitably from the original concept — still, the pattern may still be present. Consider *Tel paor ot, tout ot li sanc mue, JdeB*, 3806. Considered separately it might be interpreted as representing an individual, an accidental variation. But, out of the hundreds of descriptions of fear, sorrow, anger, that are to be found in OF, there are only a handful of descriptive phrases that serve for them all. There was evidently a pattern of ideal classical fear, etc., which offered a slight margin of variation. And by reference to any one of these the writer was able to indicate that the emotion has taken place on the ideal, the typical plane. And, of course, alternating with these stock-specific descriptions the more general ones will also be found: *Il estoit si iriés c'oncques hom ne fu plus. BdeM*, 3493.

Or again consider the two clichés of Attendant Circumstance „so that he was seen" (*Devant le roi est descendue, Si que de toz iert bien veüe, Lanval*, 619-20) and „so that he was not seen" (*Celui ameine en tel maniere — que de nului ne fu seüz, — desturbez ne aparceüs, Milun*, 200-02). The first generally is found in situations involving a display of some sort, a public appearance, when it is appropriate that the action be performed in full view; if, unfortunately, it had failed to be observed and recognized, to that extent, the pattern would have been marred. Conversely, if a person is trying to make a secret departure, it is most important, for the success of his venture, that he *not* be seen — escaping recognition is a part of the pattern for the ideal get-away. And these two expressions cannot be used out of their setting: if a person attempting to slip away were observed, we would not find „si qu'il le virent...", for „si qu'il le virent" means, not simply „and he was seen", but, „and, as was right, as was proper, he was seen". When such phrases are used, it is not so much

to give descriptive detail, as reassurance that the type has been realized.

Of course it *is* possible to find purely determining clauses containing a detail that is non-typical. For example in *Einsi vola jus del destrier*: *N'i guerpi sele ne estrier*, *Erec*, 2207-08 it is obvious that here we have a unique variation of dismounting one does not usually take his saddle and stirrup with him. But such a type is rare in comparison, for example, with „Monte si que estrier ne baille": when impetous young heroes start off for battle, it was evidently *de rigueur* that they scorn the aid of the stirrup; this clause simply tells us that the subject mounted in knightly fashion. Or again, in *Si gaegna tant ke dedens .IIII. ans il gaegna plus de .CCC. livres... Flore,* 125 15-16, we are given the prosaic details of a specific amount. But for the most part medieval raconteurs were not bookkeepers; they usually admit their inability to add their sums — „nus nel porroit dire" — leaving us with infinity to contemplate.

The relationship between individual and type, specific and general is perhaps no more clearly seen than in the very frequent clauses of identification:

> Reis Chilperis tam bien en fist:
> De sanct L. consilier fist. *Leger*, 67-68
>
> Et je proi Dieu...
> Que li parjures i soit hui vergondés
> Si que il soit pendus et traïnes. *Huon*, 1768-69
>
> ...ains qu'il retornent seront si adrecié
> Qu'il i morront, ou il sera vengié. *Ogier*, 715-16
>
> Ne ferai tel recreantise
> Que je tot mon pooir n'an face
> Einçois que j'isse. *Erec*, 5654-46

Here, of course, the order is reversed: first the general, the typical, then the specific. The second clause presents a spe-

cific, individual fact — but it is presented as an illustration of a general mode of behaviour. So in either order, the individual phenomenon is presented against the background of a larger scheme.

Both main groups of purely determining clauses, then — the type *tant chevalcherent qu'en Sarraguce sunt* as well as *E li fu la nef atornee Si que il n'i fallot rien nee* illustrate a common tendency: to place the individual phenomenon within the framework of a pattern, to assign it its proper place in the scheme of things. There is this difference between the two types: the construction with *tant* is used just as often to refer to the „irrelevant", the non-typical (*demorer-membrer*) as it is to refer to the „ideal" patterns (*chevalcher-arriver* etc.), whereas with clauses of manner-intensity expression of the non-typical is comparatively infrequent. Perhaps with the first construction, it was easier to admit the irrelevant, the fortuitous into the pattern because, in such cases, the irrelevant is not a quality, but an event — it happened, thereby making itself relevant. The ideal type, excluding the accidental, could be more or less rigidly fixed when it was simply a question of attributes, but they were not so presumptuous as to insist on man-made patterns that would exclude the event, the „aventure".

So far we have said little about the relationship existing between the two clauses of this construction. There are three sequences represented;

fact — qualification
preamble — fact
fact — subsequent, consequent fact.

If the function of this construction really were that of expressing result, we would expect to find only the sequence: fact — consequent fact. This sequence is of course to be found (*li vens tel bruit mena, Li plus ardis de la paour tranla ... BdeH*, 5807-08) though, when two completely separate facts are expressed by this construction, the second is less apt to be consequent, than merely subsequent (*Car bien quatre cent Turs veneient ... Si qu'entre lui et l'ost se mistrent*).

But for the most part it is the first two sequences which the consecutive construction expresses. With clauses of manner-intensity (with the exception of clauses of identification) we find usually fact — qualification: the first clause states a fact „he did his duty nobly" *(En fist grandement son deveir...)* — then comes the qualification: „how shall I describe it, how impress upon you the quality of his behaviour? Well, I may say it simply couldn't be improved upon" *(Si k'il n'i ot k'amender)*. As we hawe seen, often the second clause contains no specific information, and even when it does, the content is significant not so much as information (in most cases it would be tautological), but rather as illustration of a quality which may be applied to the main action; whatever factual information we get is conveyed by the main clause.

With clauses of identification, however, the information is contained in the second clause. In *Reis Chilperis tam bien en fist: De saint L. conseilier en fist* obviously the author does not mean „King Chilperis behaved very handsomely indeed — how shall I describe the degree of his noble behaviour? well, let me say that he appoint Leger a counselor". No, in such a sentence the second clause is not brought in merely to qualify a fact just mentioned; the second clause itself contains the fact of which the author wants to inform us. Only, instead of bluntly stating this fact at the beginning, he leads up to it, with a preliminary step: „Now Chilperis behaved very nobly in the matter: he made him counselor".

In *tam bien en fist* even though the first clause is not (specifically) informative, still it does serve a purpose: the author, postponing the real news, begins by telling us the proper aspect under which his information-to-come must be envisaged (for a single act, isolated, could have a variety of significances); and so, when the information does come in the 2nd clause, we are prepared to accept it and interpret it properly. But in other cases the preamble is less useful; particularly in the latter part of the period the construction is used to present preamble for the sheer love of preamble,

as in *Et vos convient tellement esploitier Que vostre loy vous convient renoier*, *Ogier*, 2136-37. Here the main clause gives neither information nor aspect, and the reader is not one whit the wiser for its presence. Such sentences seem to illustrate the feeling on the part of the author that it is not quite decent to present a naked fact: it must be clothed with something, even if the garment is transparent. The individual fact must at least seem to be attached to something else, to have a relation to a larger fact against which it may be viewed, out of which it may seem to develop.

In the case of the clauses introduced by *tant que* measuring the extent of the action, both sequences may be found: the consecutive clause may serve to give either information or qualification. It is used for qualification in such cases as *Ele s'estraint en son mantel en l'onbre del pilier, tant que cil furent passé outre*, *A+N*, XXXIV, 8-9, where the second clause determines the relative time of the first action (this is regularly the case when the event in the second clause represents the end of an action (or of a period of time) that is contemporaneous with the main action, thereby measuring the duration of the main action in terms of another coexistent with it). But with the more frequent types, *chevalcher-arriver, demorer-membrer* it is the second clause that contains the real information of the sentence. *Tant chevalcherent qu'en Sarraguce sunt* is not concerned with either the actual time or the relative time of the first action (it does not mean „the period of time leading up to their arrival at S. was spent in riding horseback"). The second clause serves to announce an event — their arrival. It might be objected that in this case, however, the first clause is not a preamble — that it, too gives real information, and that we are concerned with the sequence fact — subsequent fact: we learn (a) they rode; (b) they (finally) arrived.

But though *chevalcher* (unlike *esploitier* and *tam bien en fist*) does give specific information still it is hardly more than preamble. In the first place, the information it gives is usually already known to the reader; in most cases, he knows at

the beginning of the sentence that the subject has started to travel, to parley, to search — and yet inevitably, when arrival, or coming to an agreement or finding is announced, it is preceded by a verb referring to the obvious preliminary action. Why did they not content themselves with naming the end of the action? Perhaps, as was suggested above with *demorer-membrer*, because they felt the need of making a connexion with the general scheme of things, to present an event, not as an isolated phenomenon, but as a kind of flowering, a thing with roots.

But even when the reader has not been previously told that the subject is riding, etc. *chevalcher* can still be considered as a preamble, for the information it gives is so obvious. If they arrived, of course they must have been ridind (or sailing or traveling in some way). In the modern language we could say, in such cases, either — „they left... and finally reached S" (.i.e., naming only the beginning and end, letting the reader assume that the hiatus had been filled by travelling); or, „then they went to S" (i.e., telescoping the three stages, departure, travelling, arrival into one). In neither case is the obvious fact „travel" mentionned: why, in OF, was it almost always mentioned?

The telescoping process represented by the second type seems to have been quite alien to their way of representing happenings. Consider for example, the types, *tant li pria qu'el s'en vint o li.* In many cases this is equivalent to no more than „He persuaded her to come with him" (= „he requested" + „she consented"). But I know of no example in OF in which such a situation is expressed in one statement; the pattern *prier-consentir could not* be abridged. It is probably this antipathy for concentration that explains the frequent use of *tant faire, pener, esploitier* to refer to continuous actions; in *Tant i fist Bueves, les fossés aplana..., BdeH* 10565, a simle, non-complex act is expanded into two stages. This single act might as well have been expressed: *il aplana les fosses.* But because the act could not be *done* at one stroke, but proceded step by step until all the ditches were leveled, it is not *said*

in one stroke : the author imitates the gradual progress, sympathetically accompanying Bueves in the preliminary stages by *tant fist* — announcing the end of his efforts by *les fosses aplana!*

And this desire to linger on each stage of the action instead of rudely summing it all up is perhaps also the reason why the second substitution for *tant chevalcherent* is not found : „he left... and finally reached Sarragossa." They could not content themselves with naming the beginning and the end, with no mention of what connects the two. Such a statement would leave a gap, presenting the arrival as isolated from its own preliminary stages — and the main concern of the OF writers seems to have been to fill up gaps, to make connexions. [1])

Now, if we compare the sequence preamble — fact with the sequence fact — qualification, we see one tendency underlying both : to present a fact by double operation, to say in two statements what could be said in one. It they want to tell us that a girl is the loveliest thing in the world, they tell us first that she is lovely ; and then, as a sort of stamp, or seal, comes the statement „no one was lovelier, nothing was lacking to her beauty." Or, if the emphasis is on narration rather than on description, if they want to tell us that a certain event occurred, they must at first lead up to that event, pre-

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[1]) Glasser, *Studien zur Geschichte des Fr. Zeitbegriffs* (München, 1936), pp. 13-14, in his discussion of the concept of „time" in OF refers to this tendency of „living through" the stages. He gives this example :

Cele bataille durat tut un lunsdi
a al demain e tresqu'a mercresdi,
qu'el n'alaschat ne hure ne prist fin
jusqu'al juesdi devant prime un petit,
que li Franceis ne finent d'envair
ne cil d'Arabe ne cessent de ferir. Guillaume, V, 1122ff.

He comments : „Es wird zur Bezeichnung der Dauer des Kampfes nicht sachlich sein Anfang und sein Ende mitgeteilt, damit man weiss, wie lange er gedauert hat, es wird nicht der zeitliche Rahmen, innerhalb dessen sich alles abspielt, gegeben, sondern die Tage dieser betreffenden Zeitdauer selbst werden in ihren Reihenfolge genannt, so dass man sie *durchlebt*, dass man das Werden dieser Zeit, ihr Sichvollenden als Erlebnis nachempfindet. Was in Wirklichkeit nacheinander geschieht, das wird vom Dichter hier auch so dargeboten.

pare the way for it, by a reference to the circumstances out of which it grew *(tant chevalcherent)*, or the aspect under which it should be viewed *(tam bien en fist)*, or, even, by referring to something that has no purpose save that of creating a momentary suspense: the appropriate state of alertness in which the event should be received (*tellement esploitier*). [1])

The fact that they cannot think of an individual phenomenon without also thinking of its „connexions" explains why beauty (or smokiness) is referred to an ideal of perfection; why arrival is presented as illustrating a stage of the ideal travelling. And the fact that those two elements (the individual, the pattern) were both so strong, explains perhaps why they could not be compressed into one statement, whey they could not say in one breath: „she-was-the-most-beautiful-girl-in-the-world" or „then he went to Sarragossa" (or „I persuaded her to come along").

According to this process, then, of presenting the whole situation, but presenting it by instalments, each of the two clauses contains only a partial representation; neither, with-

[1]) Even in clauses of result we find these two sequences — perhaps more often than we do fact — consequent fact. For example, in *Tote sa force i abandone Si que mout loing an va l'oïe, Erec,* 6160-61, we are not told of two facts; one fact is qualified. For the second clause is tautological if considered as information: if one blows upon a horn, of course sound goes forth. What saves it from pure tautology is the phrase *mout loing*; now we know that the must have blown *loudly* — and that is all we have learned new from the second clause. As was said above. in the discussion of the „narrowness" of the cause-result — the result is apt to be merely a „reverberation" of the main action, so closely connected as to serve primarily for modification.

In *...A si feru ke l'escu li percha... Anseis,* 7104, on the other hand, it is the second clause that gives us the information (shield-splitting is not mentioned simply to illustrate „si"). And the first clause is no more than preamble. Of course he must have hit him! we are in the midst of a description of a battle, and we could perfectly well take for granted that any damage received would be because a blow has been struck. Yet we do not find blow and shieldsplitting telescoped into a single act (it is only one act); inevitably, whenever a knight is unhorsed, a helmit cleft, a shield de-jeweled, it is preceded by the statement that a blow was hit.

out the other is to be accepted as representing tho whole situation. For that reason then, I think that the term „tautological" which has been applied to such sentences of the type *Carles se dort, que ne s'esveille mie, Rol.* 774[1]) fails to take account of the real emphasis of such an expression. It is true, given the statement *se dort*, that *ne s'esveille* is pure tautology. But the *mie* is not tautological; a person can sleep, and yet occasionally stir wakeful'y, and what *mie* tells us is that in this case he slept profoundly, perfectly. And nearly always, in such expressions, there will be an *onques* a *mie* that lifts the phenomenon from the mediocre, the more-or-less to the plane of the absolute.

And so we see that the medieval belief in the existence of ideal patterns permeates their syntax.

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[1]) Bruno Heinrichs in his *Die Modalsätze im Frz.*, Gött., 1903 was the first to use the expression „modal tautology" in reference to this type. Curtius, *Zur Literarästhetik des Mittelalters II*, in *ZfRP*, 1938, LVIII, p. 218 does not use the term „tautology" but offers the example from the *Roland* as an imitation of the rhetorical device inherited from the schoolmen *oppositio*, by which, he says, the *same fact* is presented non affirmatively, now negatively.

P.-S.

It hat just been called to my attention that another, though dealing with a different period and a different language, has recognized the „rhetorical" function of the consecutive clause to re-describe in terms of perfection :

H. Hatzfeld (*„Don Quixote" als Wortkunstwerk*, Leipzig, 1927) in his discussion of the Pastoral elements to be found in *Don Quixote*, lists among them what he calls „der ornamentale Konsekutivsatz" (p. 226). As a typical example of this, he quotes, from the *Diana* of Montemayor, *Cuando yo asi le ví, quedé tan suspensa en velle y tan fuera de mí con la súbita alegría, que no sé como lo sepa decir*, and then he lists many similar passages that occur in Cervantes' work, e. g. *Son verdades tan lindas ... que no puede haber mentiras que se le igualen* I, 22. Of such, he says :

> Ornamental mag er deshalb genannt werden, weil er nur eine Scheinfolgerung, eine schwache, inhaltsleere, zerflatternde Folgerung bringt, die viel weniger *aussagt*, als sie zur *formalen* Dämpfung, zum langsamen Verhauchen des Satzes *beiträgt*. Jeder Leser von Schäferromanen kennt diese zerfliessenden Konsekutivsätze (pp. 225-26).

The reverse procedure (preamble-fact) is also to be found in *Don Quixote* — and doubtless in Pastoral Romances : *El se enfrascó tanto en su lectura, que se le pasaban les noches leyendo de claro en claro, y los dias de turbio en turbio* I, 1 ; this type (with specific consecutive clause), according to Hatzfeld, is „der echte Cervantinische Konsekutivsatz". He calls attention to the obvious contrast between the two types — without, however, pointing out that they represent merely the two poles of the same rhetorical procedure : to split up a single concept into two, by naming separately its specific content and its general implication — its relation to the „pattern".

ABBREVIATIONS OF TEXTS USED:

A+A *Amis et Amiles*, ed. Konrad Hofmann

A+N *Aucassin et Nicolette*, ed. Mario Roques in *Classiques fr. du m. a.*

Aiol *Aiol, ed.* Jacques Normand and Gaston Raynaud in *Société des an. textes fr.*

Alex *La vie de St. Alexis*, ed. Paris and Pannier in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*

Alisc. *Aliscans*, ed. Wienbeck, Hartnacke and Rasch

Amb. *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, par Ambroise. Ed. Gaston Paris

Anseis *Anseïs von Karthago*, ed. Johann Alton

BdeH *Der festländische Eueve de Hantone*, Fassung I, ed. Albert Stimmung

BdeM *Brun de la montaigne*, ed. Paul Meyer

BdeS *Li romans de Bauduin de Sebourc*, Vol. I (Valenciennes, 1841)

Bast. *Li Bastars de Buillon*, ed. August Scheler

Ber. *Roman de Tristan par Béroul*, ed. Ernest Muret

Berte *Li roumans de Berte aus grans piés*, ed. André van Hasselt

Best. *Le bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün*, ed. E. Walberg

Cesar *Li hystore de Julius Cesar*, ed. F. Settegast

Cleom. *Li roumans de Cléomadès*, ed. André van Hasselt, 2 vols.

Cliges *Cligès*, ed. Wendelin Foerster

Doon *Doon de Maience*, ed. M. F. Guessard

Eneas *Eneas*, ed. J.-J. Salverda de Grave, vol. I.

Erec *Erec und Enide*, ed. Wendelin Foerster

Fab. *Recueil général et complet des fabliaux des XIII^e^ et XIV^e^ siècles*, ed. A. de Montaiglon and G. Raynaud, 2 vols.

Flore *Le roi Flore et la belle Jehanne*, ed. L. Moland and C. D'Héricault in *Nouvelles fr. en prose du XIII^e^ siècle*

Frois. *Chroniques de J. Froissart*, ed. S. Luce, 2 vols.

Huon *Huon de Bordeaux*, ed. M. F. Guessard

Ille *Ille und Galeron*, ed. Wendelin Foerster

JdeB *Jourdain de Blaivies*, ed. Konrad Hofmann

Joinv. *Histoire de Saint Louis*, by Joinville. Ed. Natalis de Wailly

Jouf. *Joufrois*, ed. Hofmann & Muncker
Lanval *Lanval* in *Les Lois de Marie de France*, ed. J. H. E. Heitz
Leger *Vie de St. Léger*, ed. Foerster-Koschwitz
Marb. *Le lapidaire de Marbode*, ed. L. Pannier
Ogier *Les enfances d'Ogier*, ed. August Scheler
Orange *Guillaume d'Orange*, ed. Jonckbloet
Pel. *Karls des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Constantinopel*, ed. Koschwitz
Phil. *Philomena*, ed. C. de Boer
Plet *Le petit plet*, ed. John Koch
Rich. *Richars li biaus*, ed. Wendelin Foerster
Rois *Li quatre livre des Reis*, ed. Curtius
Rol. *La chanson de Roland*, ed. Joseph Bédier
Rou *Maistre Wace's Roman de Rou et des ducs de Normandie*, vol. I, ed. H. Andresen
Thebes *Le roman de Thèqes*, ed. L. Constans
Thom. *Le roman de Tristan par Thomas*, ed. Joseph Bédier
Troie *Le roman de Troie*, ed. Léopold Constans
Troil. *Le roman de Troïlus*, ed. Moland and D'Héricault in *Nouvelles fr. en prose du XIVe siècle*
Ville. *Conquête de Constantinople*, by Geoffrey de Ville-Hardouin, ed. N. de Wailly
Yvain *Yvain*, ed. Wendelin Foerster

VITA

Anna Granville Hatcher was born in Baltimore, Maryland, August 1, 1905. Most of her early education was received at home. In 1922 she entered Blue Mountain College of Mississippi, from which she was graduated in 1925. She then attended the University of Virginia for one year, following courses in English and French leading to the degree of Master of Arts which was granted in 1927. The year 1926-27 was spent at the Johns Hopkins University. During the winter of 1927-28 she taught French and Latin at Campbellsville Junior College in Kentucky; the following summer she taught French at Blue Mountain College. In 1929-30 she was at Highland Hall, Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania, as instructor of French, Spanish and Latin; the summer of 1930 she spent in Paris studying at the Sorbonne. She came to Baltimore in the fall of 1930, where for the last three years she has been doing part-time teaching in the private and public schools, and working for her Ph. D. degree in Romance Languages at the Johns Hopkins University.

She wishes herein to express her appreciation of courses pursued under Professors Lancaster, Blondheim, Gruenbaum, Chinard, Robles and Doyle — and especially of the help she received from Professor Blondheim, who suggested the subject of the dissertation.